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PROCEEDINGS

ON REPRODUCTION

RE-IMAGINING THE POLITICAL ECOLOGY OF URBANISM

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Department of Architecture and Urban Planning, University of Ghent

After successful editions in Leuven, Venice, Barcelona, Paris, Delft, Lausanne, the next edition of the PhD seminars in urbanism and urbanization will be hosted in Ghent, Belgium. Like previous editions, the seminar seeks to bring together students writing their PhD thesis in urbanism, working within very different disciplinary traditions, combining historical research, design research and different forms of urban research.

The community supporting this seminar series over the years shares an interest in work that tries to speak across the divide between urban studies and the city-making disciplines, seeking to combine the interpretation of the process of urbanization with the commitment and care for the urban condition in all its manifold manifestations, and bring together urban theory and the theoretical grounding of urbanism.

The seminar welcomes all PhD students working in this mixed field. The call for papers of each edition foregrounds a set of themes that will be given special attention. We invite students to respond to these thematic lines, however, papers addressing other themes and concerns will also be taken into consideration.

On Reproduction[1] : Re-Imagining the Political Ecology of Urbanism

Each period of urbanization comes with its urbanisms. At times these are clearly defined and constitute distinct paradigms that fill handbooks, structure curricula and form schools. At other times they are contested and subject of vigorous debate. Today, urbanism is a field in flux, forced to engage in new urban questions and address pressing social and ecological concerns. As a direct result the contemporary list of epithets qualifying the notion urbanism has become virtually endless.

In this edition of the urbanism and urbanization seminar we want to think the urban question as a matter of political ecology, joining the transdisciplinary efforts to think nature inside the political economy of urbanization and to develop a perspective on urbanism that unites ecological and social justice concerns. In order to do so, we proceed from a notion which has defined urbanism within poltical economy, namely the question of 'social reproduction'.

Reproduction is a term rooted in Marxist vocabulary that provides an analytic lens to think the ways in which the logics of capitalist production have been socially embedded. Urban questions can be understood as questions of social reproduction, in which typically three concerns intersect: (1) the reproduction of life itself pointing to the bio-political core of urbanism; (2) the reproduction of value, thinking the division of labor, the role of paid and non-paid labor, the split between use and exchange value, internal and external economies, positive and negative externalities, etc.; (3) the reproduction of the institutional and infrastructural arrangements put in place to enable production processes, interrogating the fixed capital and infrastructure cities are made of. Urbanisms are specific propositions regarding the collective arrangements needed in order to address and organize questions of social reproduction in an urbanizing society.

Within the historical Marxist perspective 'social reproduction' has typically served as a critical lens to expose urbanism as an ideological project that provides the social support for capitalist production and uneven capital accumulation (Harvey, Castells, Préteceille, …). Beyond the ideological critique, starting from questions of social reproduction is also an invitation to think alternative urbanisms and imaginaries to this dominant story of uneven development, dispossession, gentrification and environmental injustice. Can we imagine urbanisms that do not treat social reproduction as an afterthought of production, as a necessary form of compensation. What do such reproductive urbanisms that renders the lives of people living in cities more just, more meaningful and more inclusive look like?

Revisiting the question of 'social reproduction', we find ourselves in the midst of discussions that are both new and old at the same time, discussions regarding the metabolic basis of our cities, the ways cities care for their citizens, keep them healthy or make them sick; the ways we share and distribute resources, both physical resources as well as social opportunities; the ways we feed our cities and fail to give citizens control over what they eat; the ways we make citizens mobile or not, car-dependent or blessed with multiple mobilities. The vigorous yet contested quest for alternative urbanisms makes us aware of the rather limited terms through which the field of urbanism has traditionally addressed questions of social reproduction, placing the emphasis on the reproduction of labor and the concomitant concern for housing and infrastructure. Thinking urbanism in the reproductive nexus is an invitation to think the biopolitical basis of urbanism in its full breath, reaching out to the key discussions that shape the urban agenda in the Anthropocene (or should we say 'capitalocene').

Alternative questions

Track #1

The return to questions such as water, energy, food, the circular use of resources brings back to the field of urbanism subjects that have been rendered absent by dominant urbanist discourse. The political ecology literature foregrounds the various ways in which processes of urbanization are deeply implicated in socio-natural processes. Urbanists are expanding their scope beyond the hard-wired questions of housing, producing an expanded understanding of the urban question. At the same time,

the operational translations that are made today of this new urban question herald a rather troubling reduction of the urban agenda within a functionalist framework. Today the discourse of urbanism is rapidly being taken over by the new-speak of the circular economy, smart use of resources, the shortening of supply chains, the reduction of carbon emissions, the balancing of ecosystem services, etc. Urbanists are making an effort to think the process of urbanization within the food, water, energy nexus, thinking urban services as eco-systems services, meeting the challenges of urbanization by nature-based solutions. These debates bring biopolitical questions back central stage, yet tend to produce a framing of these debates in a rather functionalist, technical and managerial manner.

We invite papers that reconstruct the intellectual itineraries urbanism has walked in addressing the seemingly new metabolic questions. How do we think key questions of social and environmental reproduction without falling back into a vulgar functionalist reduction of the city and urbanism?

Alternative movements

Track #2

The politics of the urban are defined by groups that join forces in addressing the specific conditions that the process of urbanization subjects them to. The process of urbanization literally moves and manoeuvers people into new positions, subjecting them to new predicaments that move them in turn. Urbanisms are defined by the intellectual mobilities and mental capacities that move people to not simply be subjected to the process of urbanization but rather to become the subject of their shared history. The reproduction of urbanisms is contingent upon the production of concrete experiences that make urban development part and parcel of a divided social consciousness and collective imaginary. This is true for the dominant urbanisms through which the urban condition is shaped, but also holds true for any effort to shape an alternative.

We invite papers that seek to think processes of urban formation and urban change in relationship to the urban movements from which they emerged and which defined their original motivations. When were urbanisms part of food movements, housing movements, environmental movements, mobility movements, etc.? Which citizen groups, which political constellations, which communities of practice, which schools of thought, which disciplinary formations shape the urban project today?

Aternative sites

Track #3

Specific urbanisms typically define the dividing lines between what is internalized and externalized in the process of urbanization, between what is placed in the centre and what is rendered absent. Urban political ecology questions the social implications of the socio-political consequences of specific ecological choices and thereby forces us to rethink the specific positionalities and geographies that have undergirded the history of urbanism. Questions of social reproduction, questions regarding cooking, food growing, child rearing, education, maintenance and repair have, more often than not, been rendered absent, repressed and treated as secondary. The history of urbanism tends to reproduce the dominant geographies and territorialities of centre and periphery, here and overseas, production and consumption. Taking political ecology seriously requires us to write the history of urbanism from elsewhere. New food geographies invite us to think the urban food metabolism beyond the town-country divide. The metabolic perspective produces new geographies of waste but also new riches and resources previously neglected and undervalued.

We invite papers that move the history of urbanism to neglected historical sites. We welcome papers that actively seek to decolonize the field of urbanism and dismantle the core-periphery relationships, the geographies of uneven development reproduced by the urbanism.

Alternative economies

Track #4

The 2008 sub-prime mortgage crisis might be understood as a crisis of social reproduction, the crisis of the excesses to produce hou-

sing in the commodity form, packaged and repackaged as a financial product. The crisis produces at the same time a heightened awareness of the need to think the economies of cities beyond the market and imagine alternative economies that may save our cities from financial speculation, recover urban value as use value, re-localize the circulation of capital and that undergird the governance of the urban commons. Thinking alternative urbanism requires the construction of an alternative theory of value. The question of social reproduction is the obvious subject to think the transition from efficiency to sufficiency, to think urban development beyond growth.

We invite papers that reflect on the way in which urbanisms have served as the experimental growth for alternative reflections on the economies of cities, from the historical reflections of authors such as Henri Lefebvre, over Jean Remy, André Gorz, Jane Jacobs, Ivan Illich and others to contemporary efforts to think the economy of the commons, the role of community currencies, the sharing economy, the decommodification of housing, the pooling of resources. We invite people to think the role of design in defining the pertinent scales at which these new economies can be articulated, defining the collective units of interventions that articulate virtuous cycles of social reproduction and within the contours of which the balance between the quest for autonomy and the recognition of open logics of exchange can be articulated.

[1] The thematic focus of the 9th edition of the U&U seminars draws upon the collective work of Michiel Dehaene and Chiara Tornaghi and their joint efforts to mount the *International Forum for an Agroecological Urbanism* to be launched at the meeting of the AESOP sustainable food planning group in Coventry, UK,14-15 November 2017 (https://aesopsfp.wordpress.com/call-for-papers/). See also: Tornaghi & Dehaene, Food as an urban question, and the foundations for a reproductive, agroecological, urbanism. (forthcoming). Dehaene, M., Tornaghi, C.., and Sage, C. (2016) '5.2 Mending the metabolic rift – placing the 'urban' in Urban Agriculture'. In Urban Agriculture Europe. Ed. by Lohrberg, F., Scazzosi, L. Licka, L., and Timpe, A. Berlin: Jovis.

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From dissensus to modernist consensus. On the irruption and reproduction of spatial orders in 20th century Guadalajara.

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This paper sheds light on the interrelationship between spatial arrangements and political processes in Guadalajara, Mexico, during the first half of the 20th century. Through a structural urban analysis the path–dependency relationship between political ideologies, projects and urban transformations is presented. Space throughout this reading is regarded as a stage simultaneously framing and affected by contingent social processes. In parallel, by addressing the 'distribution of the sensible' –that is, the contingent ways in which society and space are arranged according to a well defined system of hierarchies, places and functions– rather than reading the urban effects of 'industrialization' as a political-economic regime, it is possible to distinguish a particular kind of non-democratic politics steering the precipitated reshaping of the city centre: that of a 'modernist consensus'.

Casus belli

My research investigates the relationship between urban spatial arrangements and political processes by addressing the range of antagonism, contestation and disagreement that is at work in the historical development of Mexico's second largest city, Guadalajara. 'Disagreement', according to Rancière's thesis is "a determined kind of speech situation: one in which one of the interlocutors at once understands and does not understand what the other is saying. Disagreement is not the conflict between one who says white and another who says black. It is the conflict between one who says white and another who also says white but does not understand the same thing by it or does not understand that the other is saying the same thing in the name of whiteness" (1999, x). In other words, my research attempts to position dissensus –or 'the enactment of disagreements'– as a way of thinking and intervening the city; dissensus as the way urbanism proceeds, whether by its affluence or absence. In this occasion, I address the interplay between the spatial and the political in central Guadalajara from the early 20th century until the 1950s, in which a naturalized hierarchic constitution of the social, underpins the destruction and profound renewal of the city's historic core.

This urbanization episode has been defined –throughout the consulted literature– as "fordist" (Díaz Núñez & Perez Bourzac, 2010), "developmentalist" (Rivera Borrayo & Orozco Alvarado 2009, 853), "progressive" (Núñez Miranda, 1999), and overall, "modern". Furthermore, the modern condition and drastic physical reshaping of Guadalajara appear as natural givens: modernism as an abstract "aspiration" of the city (Díaz Núñez & Perez Bourzac, 2010, 71); urban renewal as a "modernizing strategy" (Nuñez Miranda 1999, 98); and both as the direct result of a new economic production and accumulation regime (Sanchez Del Real, 2008). Still, such notions seem to reproduce inherited narratives and understandings coming from different sites and realities, trying to make sense of on-ground spatial dynamics, however, without actually addressing them. I note this not to deny that modernization –especially through industrialization (Sanchez Del Real, 2008)– had spatial consequences in Mexico and Guadalajara, but to excavate the specific ways in which such universal notion of modernity was 'provincialized' (Sheppard et al. 2013); and reflect upon the different material and political outcomes that –to my understanding– do not necessarily coincide with existing accounts of Guadalajara's urbanism of the time. My intention then is to approach the spatial and political mechanisms that allowed these radical transformations throughout the mid-20th century, by conceptualizing space as 'the stage' (Heynen, 2013) in which contingent understandings of modernity, consensual politics and ideologies retrofit a series of urban policies and severe built fabric alterations. For this endeavour, the city structure and destructions are mapped, in parallel with the urban projects, discourses and idiosyncrasies of the actors involved. As a prelude to my case study, I briefly visit the political landscape of Mexico during the studied period drawing upon Jacques Rancière's political theory, and relating it to the urban phenomena.

Modernity and the 'partition of the sensible' in 20th century Mexico: notes on space, politics and the police.

> " I do not know if modernity is a blessing or a curse, or both. I know it is a destiny: if Mexico wants to be, it has to be modern" –Octavio Paz.

After the Mexican revolution that culminated with the drafting of the 1917's constitution, the party in power, *Partido Revolucionario Institucional* (PRI), will uninterruptedly govern the country for more than 70 years. As described by various authors, the PRI regime during the 20th century could be considered, first and foremost,

as an incredibly efficient machine of *consensus* (Sanchez Prado, 2014, Williams, 2011). Peruvian writer Mario Vargas Llosa called the PRI's resilient political system "the perfect dictatorship" (Vargas Llosa, 1990). Although more than a dictator-ship, it might be better described as a '*dictator-ness*': a way of perceiving the world –both materially and symbolically– according to naturalized relationships, logics and possibilities within a well defined system; a social arrangement not just simply circumscribed under a struggle over political leaderships, parties and agendas. When Vargas Llosa firstly aired this argument in front of other 'intellectuals', Octavio Paz dismissed Llosa's interpretation by stating that rather than a dictatorship, "in Mexico there is a hegemonic system of domination… an hegemonic domination of one party". Through a state-theoretical perspective, it is possible to recognize such hegemony and domination of one party in Guadalajara's urban planning and development regimes by looking at the degree of legitimacy and co-ordination between dominant and subordinated groups of the time (Loopmans, 2008). Notwithstanding this very useful perspective, more than just accounting for a state of hegemony in urban policy, which without doubt is there, in this occasion I dwell into the ways in which space becomes both, an 'apparatus' for achieving this particular kind of hegemonic urban order –that could also be defined as modern–, and a 'receptacle' of socio-political dynamics reflected in its morphological transformation (Heynen, 2013). How could be possible then to relate these phenomena with the evolution and production of the city? And which is the role of space –if any– within this political configuration? In order to explore to which degree these political processes are reflected in and influenced by the material and symbolic features of the built environment, I approach this twofold question by bringing attention to how space becomes the stage of concurrent political logics that ultimately have a significant effect in the city's material and social development. Space, throughout this reading, is not just regarded as a passive container accommodating the offshoots of socio-cultural phenomena, but it is also acknowledged as an active instigator of societal change (Heynen, 2013). Coinciding with Heynen, by using the term 'space' I refer to "the physical reality of the built environment, to buildings, to interiors, to urban spaces and the way these entities interrelate." (2013, 343) Furthermore, to make sense of the relation between the spatial and political realms, I also draw upon Rancière's conceptualization of "the distribution of the sensible[1]" (1999, 2010), as well as approaching it through a fundamental distinction he poses between his understanding of "politics" and "the police" (Rancière, 1999, 2004, 2010). The latter, does not refer to the policing institutions nor the 'state apparatus', but it is a naturalized order of the social that partitions[2] the community into clearly identifiable groups, positions, hierarchies and functions; and establishes the ways in which those parts interrelate through what is commonly understood as politics. According to this view, the procedures of ordinary politics, policymaking, and urban planning fall within this category, but the police order goes well beyond formal(ized) institutions, also entailing the quotidian perception and interpretation of things supported by 'sensible evidences' e.g. policies, projects, categories and even connotations (Dikeç, 2009, 6). In this way, the logic of the police is one of distribution, identification, and of 'the proper' (Dikeç, 2005). Democratic politics, on the other hand, occur when a given practice, operation, event or act disrupts the hegemonic order, in which "the part of those who have no part" emerges and calls for a new (re)distribution of the sensible" (Rancière, 1999).

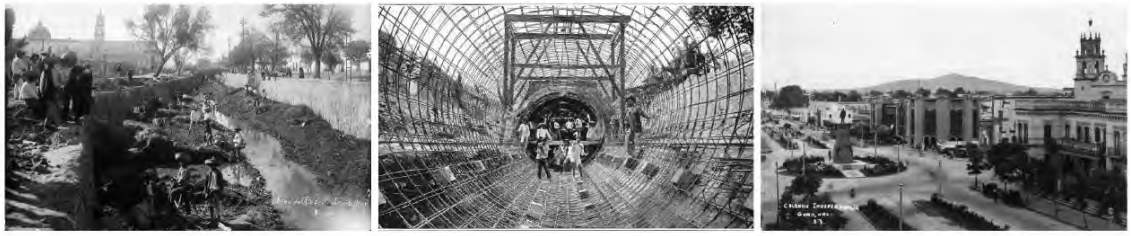
Sanchez Prado resumes one of the main traits in which the 'the police' is configured in Mexico that is worth to cite in length: "In Mexico, the [distribution of the sensible] corresponds with a near universal agreement between Mexico's political, economic and intellectual elites that the country's problem is *the fact that modernity has yet to arrive*. In consequence, there is a predominant discourse in Mexican politics and culture that sustains that the promise embedded in its potential arrival is deferred because of anti-modern traits in the Mexican national character, which typically consists of a generalization of the cultures of the poor and the marginalized." (2014, 372, my emphasis). During the studied period then, "modernity in Mexico was orchestrated by a total state that strived at all times to suppress the duality of state and society" (Williams, 2011, 12). This constant effort of suppression, as implied by Llosa's argument, was not carried out through violent repression, neither through the instauration of a unified identity, authority or sovereign –that is to say, it was not done in a totalitarian manner–, but by a combination of these and other forms of *consensus*. By not just repressing or excluding opposition groups, but by actively (ac)counting them within the PRI's political constellation; within the PRI's conception of the world. By assigning to the opposition empirical places, functions and status within the PRI's universe, the opposition itself identified with its assigned place –as 'the opposition', the 'governed', the 'clientele', and so on–, thus rendering most of 20th century political struggles into the realm of 'the police' (Rancière, 1999). That is, a dispute between well defined interest groups, instead of a conflict over the very logic in which the parties and parts of the community are counted.
Thus, the pursuit of modernity stands as the end game –or *telos*– over which every project, –urban or otherwise– becomes legitimized. In other words, modernization becomes the basis for delineating the "distribution of the sensible […] the abstract and arbitrary forms of symbolization of hierarchy [which] are

[1] Also translated as "partition of the perceptible" or "partition of the sensible" (Rancière, 1999, 2004)
[2] The French term *partager* makes reference to both something that is divided and at the same time putted in common.

embodied as perceptive givens" (Rancière 2011,6-7). The city and its spatial arrangements in this way, have a direct relationship in defining the parts and places of the community, its allocation of functions, positions and hierarchies in both time and space. Simply put, space is integral to –what Rancière calls– "the police" (1999, 2011). However, coinciding with Sanchez Prado (2014), I'm also less concerned in coming to terms with Rancière's terminology than with engaging practically with the questions raised through his work; specifically on the role that space plays within such political processes in central Guadalajara. Now, going from this abstract –although very concrete– state of things in Mexico, the next section focuses on the specific way this 'distribution of the sensible' drastically materializes in what today is known as Guadalajara's historic centre, from the early to mid 20th century.

Post-colonial waves of 'order and progress'

The profound transformations occurred in Guadalajara's physiognomy during the 20th century couldn't be understood without the contingent social upheaval lived in the previous century. Contrary to what one may think, both Mexican independence and revolution wars barely affected Guadalajara's urbanism (Melé, 2006). In turn, conflicts such as the *Guerra de la reforma* and *La Cristiada*[3] wars carried more weight in the city's evolution as we will see further on. Guadalajara's economy, since its foundation, was concentrated around agricultural production coupled with the commercial and service sectors (Calvo, 1992). Until the 1970s, the city always functioned as a regional centre of accumulation and exchange rather than a properly industrial hub (Melé, 2006). For more than 3 centuries, the central district of Guadalajara –what used to be the exclusive Spanish grid– kept absorbing and accommodating different waves of urbanization by way of expanding its reticular structure (Lopez Moreno, 2001). It was until late the 19th and beginning of the 20th century that new urban patterns appeared in the west part of the city. With more than 110,000 inhabitants in the 1900, new *Colonias* European-style neighbourhoods such as *Colonia Francesa, Colonia Americana, Colonia Reforma*, among others, began composing an urban patchwork, differentiated from the homogenous structure of the now 'historic' city. In turn, inner Guadalajara was still highly compatible with the mercantile city model that had been taking shape since the Spanish colony, with an urban landscape composed of remarkably accessible commercial establishments coexisting with bourgeois residences, civic and religious premises (Gonzales Romero, 1988). As symbolic boundaries were dismantled by new political ideologies, the colonial dualist urban order with its topographical border dividing Indian and Spanish domains also dissolves. The San Juan de Dios river is culverted, giving way to a French-style parkway, and what used to be the edges of the 'two republics' developed into preeminent shared public spaces such as the *San Juan de Dios* market and *Alameda* park. The centre, without the colonial aura of the 'pure' and its exclusionary character, became –thanks to its morphological constitution– the stage where vibrant urban life unfolded (Nuñez Miranda, 1999). Eclectic architectural typologies framed the coexistence of all population sectors. Mixed-use buildings housed the rising mercantilist bourgeoisie on the top, while commercial premises were found on the ground floor, sheltered by *portales*, fig.2. These spaces functioned as thresholds between public and private domains; as articulators of formal and informal vending, ambulant and permanent; and apart from the main *plaza de armas*, they provided much of the material ground in which social life was reproduced (Villaseñor y Villaseñor, 1990).



[fig.1] Works on the San Juan de Dios River circa 1907. View of the resulting *Calzada Independencia* 1930s. Source: AMG

[3] Both armed conflicts are part of the power struggle between Catholic conservatives and the liberal government during the 19th and early 20th century respectively.

[fig.2] Portales early 20th century. Source: AMG

Throughout 19th century Mexico, the changing condition of the dominant ideology –towards a liberal, progressive and modern apparatus– is also reflected in a series of mutilations in the built fabric. An anti-ecclesiastic sentiment among the political elites prevailed (Wilkie, 1998), and both war and politics leave their mark on religious complexes. The cutting-through and partial demolition of *Del Carmen* convent in order to prolong the street *Coliseo*, more than just responding to a functionalist logic of traffic efficiency, "obeyed to a political fact full of symbolism promoted by then-governor Santos Degollado, who, backed by the *Lerdo Law*[4], encouraged the urbanization of spaces previously occupied by churches, religious congregations and indigenous communities" (Núñez Miranda, 1999, 98). In a similar manner, streets were 'opened' by tearing down parts of *Santo Domingo* church and its annexed chapel; the college of *San Diego*, the *Santa María de Gracia* convent, and two chapels part of the *San Francisco* complex also disappeared among many more decimated church properties (Nuñez Miranda, 1999,98). These actions derived as well from legal dispositions dictated by the governor "in order to punish the traitors and conspirators against the Constitution [...] comprehending among the conspirators the bishops, priests, and other ecclesiastics, who by word or deed, in sermon or council, tried to persuade the people that the constitution should not be observed" (Cambre, 1949, 170–171). Later on, equivalent demolitions kept occurring justified for "functional reasons" (Lopez Moreno, 2001,121). Such as the opening of the San Francisco convent across its open-air atrio in 1888 –requested by the railway company– coinciding with the arrival of the first train to Guadalajara. The ideological shift fuses with functionalist understandings.

Likewise, not so much for a functional, but for an aesthetic factor, the old *pueblos de indios –barrios* of the city at the time–, where subject of constant modifications in their built structure. As these tissues are clearly differentiated from the 'ordered' grid pattern of the centre –not just by their form but also by their political structure[5]–, they were perceived by city authorities as 'backwards', based on "the liberal sentiment, which viewed indigenous forms of communal tenure as an impediment to progress and modernity" (Assies, 2008, 38). Indeed, Scott points out that "[t]he carriers of modernism tended to see rational order in remarkably visual aesthetic terms. For them, an efficient, rationally organized city, village, or farm was a city that looked regimented and orderly in a geometrical sense." (1998:4). The authorities' will to 'align' the streets of Mexicaltzingo and Mezquitán *barrios* according to the perceived "ontological superiority" of the grid pattern (Lopez Moreno, 2001, 54), is reflected in numerous expropriations and demolition of their built fabric. Such urban tissues –of the church and former *pueblos–,* thus reflect this changing political paradigm, while concurrently, by opening new urban arteries through them, new spaces of circulation are used as instruments to enable different types of flows in the city; encouraging economic and commercial activities in detriment of more 'traditional' livelihoods directly related with their past history. These urban politics and operations go by, it seems, uncontested, prefiguring a 'second wave' (Núñez Miranda, 1999) of urban transmutation at the centre of Guadalajara.

[4] A Mexican law confiscating property held by the Catholic Church and other civil institutions such as indigenous communities, drafted by liberal politician Miguel Lerdo de Tejada, a prelude to the Reform War.
[5] The 'indians' villages' or *pueblos de indios* were part of a separate commonwealth –*república de indios*– under the tutelage of the Spanish colonial state, and apart from having its own internal government; it was characterized, among other things, by a communal tenure of land. See: Assies, 2008.

[fig.3] (a) Guadalajara 1896. (b) Central church properties and former barrios. (c) Guadalajara 1924, detailed demolitions, street openings and transformations in the centre. Source: elaborated by the author.

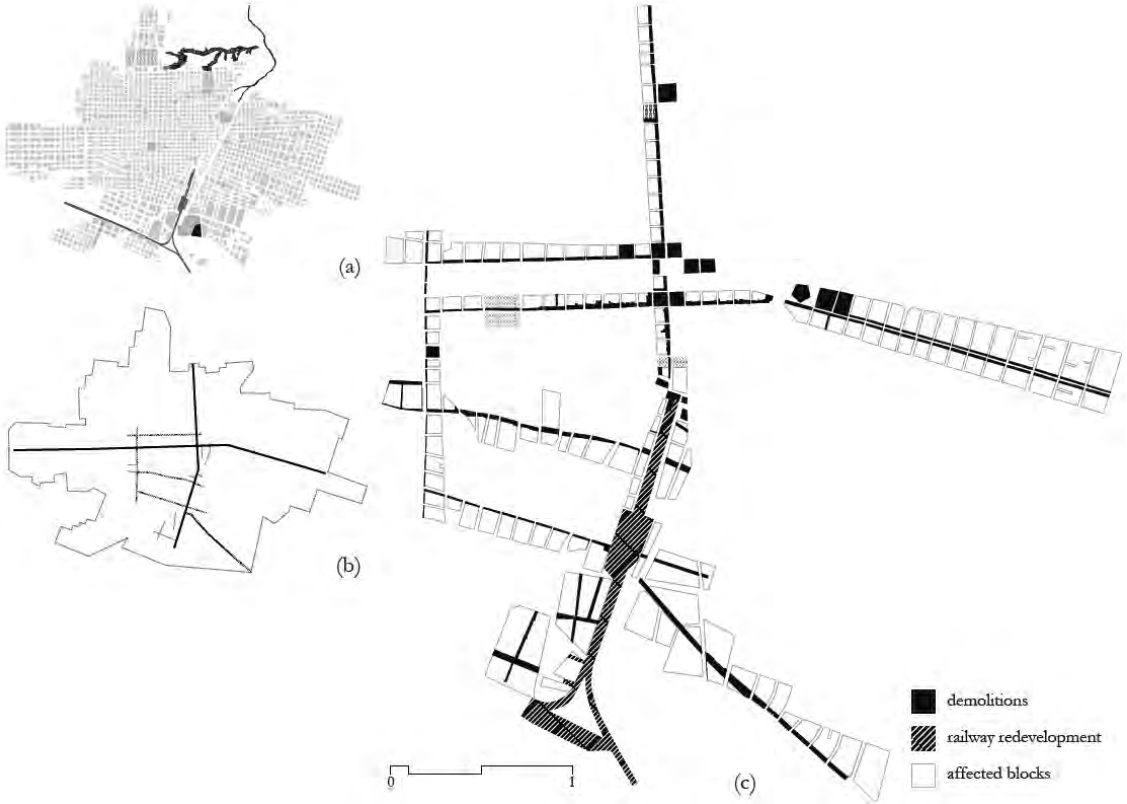
[fig.4] Demolition of Santo Tomás apse and altar circa 1930. Source: AMG.

Modernist irruption and creative destruction in Guadalajara.

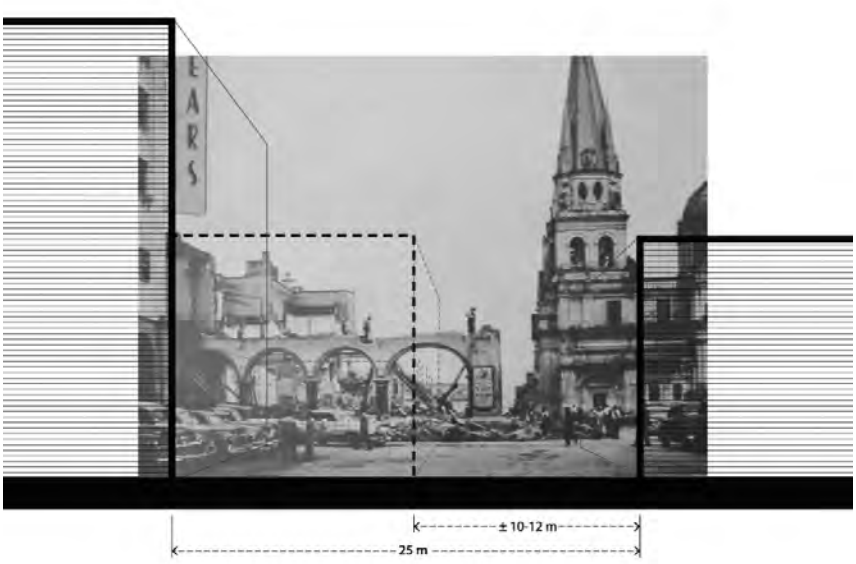
The cross of avenues

Industrialization, between 1929 and 1980, is the dominant current in the country's economic development. However, in the specific case of Guadalajara, the commercial, services and most importantly, real estate sector guilds dominated the economic development of the city, consolidating a powerful "local bloc" (Sanchez Del Real, 2011). The *Cristiada* war triggered a significant influx of population, as the situation in the countryside were it was waged became more unstable and precarious (Núñez Miranda, 1999). Guadalajara, with almost 230,000 inhabitants by 1940, more and more is set to become "the great city of the 'small industry'" (Arias, 1985), with numerous small businesses, family workshops, stores and markets spread across the city but relatively concentrated within and around the historic centre (Melé, 2006). The city's structure and low-rise morphology remained almost intact for centuries, however, in a relatively short amount of time –1947 to 1952–, the historic core's physiognomy was brutally modified. 'Modernity' –or what was locally

understood by it– made its way through the architectural heritage. The enlargement and extension of numerous streets and avenues, including the two main central axes *Avenida Alcalde –16 de Septiembre* and *Avenida Juárez*, constitute some of the most significant urban interventions carried out in Guadalajara since its foundation (Lopez Moreno, 2001; Núñez Miranda 1999; Vazquez, 1989). Both main avenues' section would be widened from 10 to 25 meters; this will affect huge tracts of historical built fabric including the most representative typologies of the centre, the *portales*. New dynamics of circulation and exchange are promoted; motorized traffic begins its supremacy in Guadalajara's urbanism. The car becomes, tacitly, one the subjects upon which the interventions are directed. Only in the first phase, more than 12,500m² on 14 blocks where demolished (Sanchez Del Real, 2008, 53), although the magnitude of the works can be better grasped by dint of the accompanying map [fig.5]. Such radical operations are a direct result of the urban policies of state governor Jesus Gonzalez Gallo, who, during his term, was able to build a certain consensus between the political and economic elites. Gonzalez Gallo's six-year term was defined by political "unity and concord" (Ruiz Razura, 2015:57), where he was able to build a network of influential actors around a common vision for the modernization of the city; including important figures such as the mayor of Guadalajara, the archbishop José Garibi Rivera, the co-founder of one of today's three main political parties in Mexico, *Partido Acción Nacional's* Efraín González Luna, among with property-owners and other merchant's representatives, industrialists and worker unions (Ruiz Razura, 2015:57-58). The public use declaration of the expropriated properties in 1947 mentions the benefits and justifications, arguing that with the coming works: "the traffic problem is solved; the general appearance of the locality is improved; it contributes to the commercial development and vertical growth of the city, and to the widening of the commercial zone of the capital." (Sanchez de Real, 2008, 54)



[fig.5] (a) Guadalajara 1944. (b) Proposed new axes. (c) Demolitions. Source: elaborated by the author.



[fig.5] *Avenida 16 de Septiembre* section. Source: elaborated by the author from AMG.

The works were financed by a combination of federal resources and by the proprietaries themselves by imposing them a capital gains tax[6], calculated by net increases in value arising from the future revaluation of their properties. This was the main source of discontent although it was not widespread (Ruiz Razura, 2015). Opposition voices make their appearance through local printed media. However, such disagreement with Gonzalez Gallo's project are circumscribed within the police logic of the time: the public opinion expressed in local newspapers conceives 'urban progress' in the same way as the governor, and does not differ with the proposed city model –a modern one–, but only the methods to achieve such model are questioned (Sanchez Del Real, 2008, 17; Ruiz Razura, 2015). These other voices argued for prioritizing water and sewage infrastructure works, the transfer and improvement of the railway station, among other issues instead of widening avenues (Sanchez Del Real, 2008,17). Nevertheless, the operations continue. Here it is possible to account for both, a hegemonic condition of statist urban policy steered by the dominance of one party (PRI); and the consensual, un-spoken, or tacit acceptance of such distribution of hierarchies, roles and forces orienting Guadalajara's urbanism. Gonzalez Gallo's urban policy, in this way, tends to be mingled more and more with the urban 'police' of the city in Rancière's terms (1999). In spatial terms, more than erasing the unique typologies of the centre, these are 'upgraded'. The old *portales* of the centre are reborn, but instead of accommodating the bourgeoisie on top, office spaces occupied by doctors, law firms, banks, and so on, are multiplied. On the ground floor, the transformations also respond to a decidedly will to 'depurate' the cultural practices unfolding in the place. Just as the traditional *alacenas* stalls and other street vending modes were associated with 'traditional' habits of the past, these too are the main targets of modernization. Even if the *portales* typology, for centuries allowed the plural assemblage of 'formal' and 'informal' vending, the latter activities are banned and banished to new underground commercial passages commonly known as the "catacombs" (Sanchez Del Real, 2008, 51). These merchants are the only ones who truly dissent with the instauration of the new spatial order, and they enact their disagreement by continuing their vending activity even amidst the demolitions, which causes in the citizens "a mixture of sadness and bewilderment" (Sanchez Del Real, 2008, 55). The space of the *portales*, although being subject of constant policing, will allow a multiplicity of uses; they will evolve into true political spaces were "the part of those who have no part" (Rancière, 1999) comes forth, and materializes, once again, in an urbanism of dissensus.

[6] Locally known as *impuesto de plusvalías*.

[fig.7.] The *alacenas* stalls before demolition. Entrance to the underground passageways after. Source: AMG

The cross of plazas

If the cross of avenues is born out of pure instrumentality –that of making space for the growing car traffic and circulation of both people and goods–, the *Cruz de Plazas* or "cross of squares" project, authored by architect Ignacio Díaz Morales, constitutes a gesture that tries to 'modernize' the monumental character of the centre according to 20th century standards. Thus, in order to give a more functional physiognomy to the "traditional beauty" of Guadalajara (Riviera Borrayo & Orozco Alvarado 2009), the project consists in the creation of new public open spaces surrounding the Guadalajara cathedral, and visually connecting it with existing landmarks such as the Degollado Theatre. The project received public criticism as well, however, again the claims were made on the basis of punctual characteristics and not as a whole (Ruiz Razura, 2015). Newspaper editorial comments argued for a change in the disposition of the largest *Plaza de la Liberación*, arguing for its relocation on the front side of the cathedral instead of its backside. With the consensus of architects, proprietaries and authorities, the only impediments for its realization were the edifices –with its occupants– standing in the projected areas. The necessary demolitions for the project are in any case considered as a heritage conservation issue. The built patrimony and traditional livelihoods remain 'invisible' to both architects and authorities (Sanchez Del Real, 2008). Apart from the editorial opinions printed in various local newspapers of the time –studied by Ruiz Razura (2015)–, little is known about the displaced tenants and the possible resistance waged against such urban remodelling. What we do know is that since the early 20th century, elite families previously dwelling in the area gradually moved from the historic centre to new aristocratic settlements in the west (Nuñez Miranda, 1999; Vázquez, 1989), and that original property owners remained throughout the renewal works (Sanchez Del Real, 2008). Pointing out that centre's dwellers did not have sufficient political leverage –*potestas*– to organize an effective resistance to their displacement. The result was more open space, new commercial premises and offices, higher flows of car traffic, and housing stock decrease in the city's 'first quarter'. The centre of Guadalajara consolidated this way as the 'central business district', an ambivalent place: vacant –as residential use was gradually diminished– but simultaneously populated by strong urban activity. Persisting since colonial times, a rich culture of street trading practices thrives by the multiplication of public ground. As such, these new spatial features give way to renewed social frictions that prevail until today. A multitude of *ambulantes*, informal vendors proliferate, and will become the target of numerous attempts of regulation (Flores Hernandez, 2016, 2016a).

[fig.7] Guadalajara in 1944 with highlighted blocks of the *Cruz de Plazas* project. Source: by the author from AHEJ

The *cruz de plazas* project, more than answering to "the need for open spaces", and "the need of entering modernity" was born out of pure speculation of its architect, Diaz Morales, which was *later* instrumentalized by the governor for his political vision of the city. As explained by its conceiver, "on one occasion, while visiting the rooftop of the Guadalajara cathedral", Diaz Morales recounts, "I contemplated the two blocks located behind, which were surrounded by a series of buildings with great architectural value, and *it occurred to me to think about a large square*; from the same roof I looked to the north and to the west, and I saw a garden and a space without purpose. It was then that I conceived the idea of projecting the cross of squares." (cited in Kasis Ariceaga, 2004, 54-55, my italics). However, the cross of plazas project itself seems to answer the calls for modernist urban spaces at the time (Giedion, 1944). The *Cruz de Plazas* project assembles two opposing notions that seem irreconcilable for the modernists, on the one hand, the total rejection of monumentality, "where the 'dead' body of the traditional city was seen as a frustrating impediment to social change that must be swept away" (Mumford, 2000, 150), and on the other hand, with the "new monumentality", consisting in the creation of new public spaces –although Giedion and others had in mind new community centres, expo pavilions, and the like (Giedion, 1944). The Cruz de Plazas project, rather than erasing or creating new monumental landmarks, generates new ways of perceiving and interacting with existing ones. The monumentality of Guadalajara's centre is not rebuilt from scratch; it is neither negated, but only transformed.

So we have different 'modernities' occurring in the historic centre; from one side, the sudden materialization of abstract goals, which is translated in physical adaptations to encourage new flows and accumulation of capital (Sanchez Del Real, 2008); while on the other side, that of aesthetics and appearances, which is materialized in new monumentality, providing "an adequate frame for man's intimate surroundings, […] planned from the human point of view" (Giedion, 1944, 551). In the political realm, however, both spatial transformation currents are part of the same dominant, consensual, forward-pushing order of things.
Simultaneously, it is during this period that Guadalajara city begins a path dependency towards becoming a metropolitan area. By the decade of 1970, the conurbation of Guadalajara's surrounding municipalities will concentrate 60% of the Jalisco state population (Díaz Núñez & Pérez Bourzac, 2010). The enlargement of *Avenida Alcalde* coupled with the cross of squares actually functions as kingpin for this path. It is literally the remnants of the old city what provides the ground for future urban expansion to the north (Sanchez Del Real, 2008; Ruiz Razura, 2015), as the *barranquitas* ravines –the natural borders delimiting the traditional city since its foundation– are gradually filled with the old city debris.

Provisional remarks on the consensual politics and projects of urban monumentality

If disruption is the essential feature of the political (Rancière, 1999), then, a disruption in the morphological constitution of the city also accounts as political? However, the precipitated instauration of a new order –with both material and symbolic manifestations–, in this case a 'modernist' one, prefigures an urban landscape characterized by consensual relationships and transformations; one in which dissensus is eclipsed by 'statist' urban politics and projects. Throughout history, as we will see further on in my research, the most distinguishable trait in the urbanism of Guadalajara's centre, is both its conceptualization and instrumentalisation as a 'monument'. Born as a monument, the centre of Guadalajara would be hereafter defined by the continuous contention on what the meaning and use of this monumental space might, could and should be. By addressing the 'distribution of the sensible' (Rancière, 2004) –that is, the contingent ways in which society and space are arranged according to a well defined system of hierarchies, places and functions– rather than reading the urban effects of the 'industrialization' regime, it is possible to make sense of the actual relationship between political and spatial processes. What underpins Guadalajara's drastic spatial transmutations in this short period is a naturalized order of things dictating that modernity postponement has to end. Furthermore, during this period, one is able to distinguish a particular kind of non-democratic politics steering a precipitated reshaping of the city: that of a 'modernist consensus'. By this I do not mean that everyone agreed with the kind of operations, demolitions, and projects carried out in the historic centre; neither I imply that no resistance was played whatsoever. But by characterizing this period's politics as consensual, I mean that there was a general agreement upon the *distribution* of roles, forces and hierarchies shaping the city. An urbanism developed within a well-defined horizon of possibility. Even if there were voices questioning such transformations –although heavily invisibilized–, such resistances took for granted the given 'distribution of the sensible' without actually trying to disrupt it. Thus, the consensual politics of monumentality propose the historic centre as an hegemonic, unquestionable and hierarchical space, in which, simultaneously, the *telos* of *tapatío* modernity is reflected in the erasure of historical built fabric, and space is used as a tool to enable new urban logics of circulation, accumulation and interaction according to the

material and symbolic vision of its proponents. Such vision however, will be constantly subverted by the always sophisticated and paradoxical urbanism that nowadays unfolds in its grounds.

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